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The UN: Cops for canals and capsules for kids

Not much in the headlines, the UN Children's Fund marks its 10th year on Dec. 11. Tens of millions of youngsters throughout the world have gained a new measure of health and happiness through its help. Above, in Ethiopia, a child tests a UNICEF sulfone pill while mother makes sure it goes down. The boy is a victim of leprosy, until recent years suffered for life.

THE HUNGARY TURMOIL

Nagy affair widens split among socialist nations

THERE WAS a faint ray of hope in Hungary last week that the situation might become stabilized. For the time being the guns were silent. The Budapest Workers Council was reported to have resumed negotiations with the Kadar government, canceled its two-day strike and advised its members to return to work for 24 hours. The Council was said to have warned the government that workers would go on strike again unless the negotiations achieved satisfactory results.

The Council's most important demands were the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the inclusion of former Premier Imre Nagy in the present government. But the whereabouts of Nagy were a mystery.

When he was replaced by Janos Kadar, Nagy and several members of his cabinet took asylum in the Yugoslav embassy. On Nov. 22 Nagy and his colleagues left the embassy after the Yugoslav government said it had received both oral and written assurances from the Hungarian government that they would not be molested if they returned home.

WHERE'S NAGY? The following day the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry asked the Hungarian charge d'affaires in Belgrade why Nagy and his colleagues had not reached home. The Foreign Ministry warned that Budapest's failure to live up to its assur-

(Continued on Page 9)

UNION WARNS WRECKERS

Hawaii in uproar over Eastland's phony red hunt

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) announced in October that his Internal Security subcommittee was going to investigate the Red Menace in Hawaii at the end of November, he kicked up a storm in the Islands that was still gathering strength last week. In fact, the winds blew so strongly that as late as Nov. 16 Robert Morris, subcommittee chief counsel, hinted that Sen. Eastland himself might not make a personal appearance in the Islands.

In that case the subcommittee would consist of Sens. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.), John Marshall Butler (R-Md.), Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah) and lame-duck Herman Welker (R-Ida.). These four planned to sail from San Francisco on a Navy transport in time to conduct closed hearings in Honolulu beginning Nov. 27, with open hearings scheduled to begin nov. 30. Forty persons are under subpena.

A UNION STORM: Sen. Eastland himself was holed up in his home at Ruleville, Miss., and wasn't talking. The Honolulu **Advertiser** reported on Nov. 14 that a representative of the paper had reached him by telephone and reported that the Senator "won't give us the time of day." He was reported to be "very insistent" in his refusal to say whether he was going to Hawaii "or anything about it."

Biggest storm over the invasion was blowing from the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union whose leaders saw the Eastland attack as an attempt to wreck it. On Nov. 10 the union held a testimonial dinner for its regional director in Hawaii, Jack Hall, whose conviction under the Smith Act is now on appeal. More than 900 attended and cheered when President Harry Bridges said:

"We don't want to let Hawaiian hospitality lag so we are preparing a little reception for Sen. Eastland, if and when he gets here . . . We are going to meet Mr. Eastland and tell him what we think of him, and we are not going to be working when we do it."

IN SELF-DEFENSE: This promise of a general walkout of the union's 24,000 members—longshoremen, and pineapple and sugar plantation workers—flustered Gov. Samuel Wilder King, a Republican appointed by President Eisenhower. He called the Bridges declaration "arrogant, presumptuous and uncalled for . . . This is revolting." Employer spokesmen said a walkout would violate the union's three-year contract, but Bridges retorted that court rulings have held that a union has

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ROBERT MORRIS

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TENSION POINTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Peril of world war still great

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

CAIRO, Nov. 26

THE REPORTED concentration of troops on the Syria-Jordan border underlines the growing belief here that the Western powers are playing with the fire of world war. Warnings by Arab statesmen that the Anglo-French refusal to evacuate Egypt threatens war is not bombast.

Nevertheless Egypt has given all-out support to UN efforts to contain the situation and all signs indicate it will continue to do so. Informed opinion, however, is that any new aggression against Syria, Jordan or Egypt must bring Soviet intervention. It is conceded that the Soviets will pursue political methods to the last possible moment, but that they will regard any new aggression in this part of the world as a threat to the Soviet Union itself that would require action.

Jordanians interviewed here see the troop concentration as an answer to Jordan's abrogation of the British treaty. They point out that it is not easy for Britain to leave Jordan where it has two air bases and an undisclosed number of troops.

REVOLT IN IRAQ? They say that the British planned to use Jordan, at the center of the Arab world, as a base from which to put down any rebellions in other Middle East countries, particularly Iraq where a revolt is expected. They point out that the Iraquis, of all the Arab world, have the most revolutionary traditions and that roughly 25,000 were jailed during the signing of the Baghdad Pact. The role of the Iraq government in the present crisis, especially the plot recently denounced by Syria, is said to be causing much unrest there.

The Jordanians emphasize a sharp struggle reportedly under way between the U. S. and the British for influence in Jordan. With the British treaty abrogated and Jordan's army free of British influence, they are hopeful that independence will advance and that Point Four will soon go the way of the treaty. They say there has been nothing to show after five years of Point Four and that most of that

(Continued on Page 5)

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R J

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THE MAIL BAG
U.S.M.

Curb that dogma

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At this time of deep moral and political crises thoughtful people would do well to re-examine the fundamental principles of social philosophies from which different political theories—of the Right and the Left—are alike deduced. It might be helpful to ponder the words from the article "Moral Grandeur," on Justice Brandeis, by Justice Felix Frankfurter in the N. Y. **Times** Magazine, Nov. 11.

"Mr. Justice Brandeis was captive to no dogma. Final truth was the unattainable bottom of an unfathomable well. But just because the efforts of reason are so tenuous the constant process of critical scrutiny of the tentative claims of reason seemed to him essential to the very progress of reason. Knowledge will advance and truth enlarge its domain only if error may freely be exposed. Error will go unchallenged if dogma, no matter how widely accepted or dearly held, may not be questioned, however crudely. If men cannot speak and write freely they will soon cease to think freely."

Dogmas debase men to the level of unthinking animals; expose them to be swayed by unruly passions and emotions.

A. Garcia Diaz

The choice

GUNTERSVILLE, ALA.

Because the whole world has seen in these past few days the balance of power shift eastward—proud England and France were forced by the mere threat of Eastern power to back down in Egypt, plus having Russia call our hand in Hungary—now we are obliged to put up or shut up all around the satellite communist belt.

We, and the world, have come to the absolute dead end of power politics, backed up by military might, because at the end of that road lies utter annihilation. So, where do we go from here?

The West must decide now either to live with communism, or die with it. If we decide to live then we must stop fighting over the backyard fence and stop calling each other names.

Chas. C. Rohrer

Only hope left?

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

It seems at this point that the Soviet Union has done little but commit mistakes—especially in the past 10 years—the crowning achievement being the case of Hungary. How low have the mighty fallen!

As one who had great faith in that nation, until in the past few years I began gradually losing it, I feel now that they must be a nation of bewildered people led by idiots. (Like most nations—for most of us are led by idiots.) The point is, however, that a socialist nation is supposed to have more brains available and more decency at heart than a capitalist nation. To see this so irrevocably disproved is discouraging. One can only hope that China is better.

Al Amery

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

(Empire Divn., continued)

Members of the Worthing Sussex Municipal Choir, giving a concert at the Assembly Hall, Worthing, voted against the inclusion in the programme of the Grand Chorus from Verdi's Aida, which begins with the words, "Glory to Egypt's mighty gods . . ."

The conductor substituted "The Merry Wives of Windsor."

London **Daily Worker,**
Nov. 19, 1956

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anon., London. Be sure to send original clip (with date) of each entry.

Operation

BRONX, N. Y.

Let's not forget that our "freedom-loving" Republican administration approves highly of the tactics employed by our Central Intelligence Agency in spending $100,000,000 to foment uprisings in such countries as Hungary and Poland. Some of us may still believe that the word "freedom" has a broader connotation than the Republicans and the newspapers who do their bidding put upon it.

Miriam Stern

Scientific inquiry

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The report issued by a group of American physicists who visited the USSR last spring states that: (1) Soviet science is flourishing; (2) the highest quality of personnel is abundantly available, (3) working on problems of the most fundamental importance, (4) in beautifully equipped modern laboratories, (5) which may very well make Moscow the physics headquarters of the world!

Men of science and others in our country hold that "freedom" is essential for a healthy scientific climate. Yet the report of these well-qualified physicists of amazing scientific progress in an "unfree" society is most disconcerting and wants explanation. How is it possible that in a country with security arrangements even more stringent than ours, in a country with admittedly limited personal freedom, that their physical scientific progress should be in such a flourishing condition and its members of the scientific community show evidence of the highest morale? I am certain that other members of the scientific public in our own country will agree that this is a question of first importance and needs an explanation.

Dr. G. S. Duboff

UN and WCCO

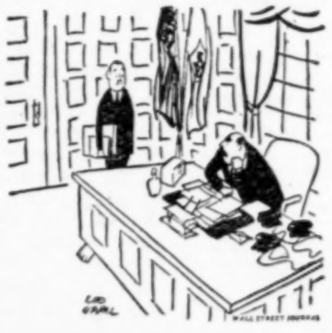
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Minneapolis competitor of WNYC (New York) for position 830 on the radio AM band is Station WCCO. This station is a very much better-than-average station. It is the Twin Cities outlet of CBS. It broadcasts every worthwhile network offering including such programs as Invitation to Learning, Howard K. Smith, Edward Murrow, late evening symphonies and many other high-level local features. It is **not** exclusively devoted to Rock 'n Roll, Hill-Billy and/or the 40 top tunes as are the other four stations in the city.

Secondly, it did a very passable job of presenting the UN debates. My wife and I listened to many hours of the debates on WCCO, and what we didn't get there, we picked up on the NBC outlet here, KSTP.

If your New York stations did a disgraceful job of this, ours didn't. Sometimes you provincial easterners give me an awful pain.

Clark Johnson



Wall Street Journal

"I really didn't want to be mayor. I just love campaigning."

No legitimate excuses

SAUGUS, MASS.

It is gratifying to see that the American Communist Party and the **Daily Worker** have both vigorously condemned not only the French-British aggression against Egypt but also the Russian aggression against the National-Communist Nagy government of Hungary. The Socialist Workers Party and others have done likewise.

That gives a real opportunity for American socialists of every hue to unite on the basis of principle, on the basis of civilized rules and decency. There has been no legitimate excuse for the French, British or Russian aggressions. Hungary, under a liberal Communist-dominated government (of 28 ministries, the overwhelming majority were in the hands of Communists) constituted no threat to the security of Russia in the present world situation, and the Kremlin majority faction among the leaders has shown itself to be reverting to the worst features of Stalinism.

(Rev.) Hugh Weston

Time for H-Crusade

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

Isn't it time that a great crusade against H-Bomb tests got underway? The newspapers play down the effects of these tests—but they could cause deaths of fishermen miles and miles from where the tests took place. Many Australians are fed up with Sir William Penny's diabolical doings in the center of their great continent. How much happier we all were before the nuclear fissionists became so "successful."

Rhoda Clarke

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Vol. 9, No. 7 401 December 3, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

Best book buys

WE POINT WITH PRIDE—and a "hurry, hurry, hurry!"—to some of the superfine offerings in our ad columns and Buying Service this week for your holiday gift list (or for your own bookshelf). You ought to order right now, to be certain of on-time delivery. If it's a Buying Service choice, we'll cheerfully enclose a gift card—one of our charming Chittaprosads, of course.

● At press time, we were notified to expect a first shipment this week of Anna Louise Strong's **The Stalin Era,** a subject which Miss Strong is by long odds the most qualified American to write about. Our Buying Service edition will be in paper cover at $1 postpaid. Here's a "stocking item" made to order for all your internationalist friends.

● Also right off the press (Horizon Press, 220 W. 42 St., N.Y. 36, N.Y., $3.95) is the new edition of Corliss Lamont's **Freedom Is as Freedom Does,** with a special introduction by Bertrand Russell. Dr. Lamont is probably the nation's foremost fighter for civil liberties for all; and since he wrote **Freedom Is** has scored a most notable three-round knockout over Sen. McCarthy.

● A special pride and joy is the handsome new edition of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' **Black Reconstruction in America,** far and away the best book ever written on the Reconstruction Era and a book your 'teen- and college-age children ought to read to offset what they most certainly are being taught in school on the subject. Our Buying Service price is $5.50 postpaid, a dollar less than the bookshop price. And your copy will be personally autographed by Dr. DuBois! By the way, have you considered giving this book to your local library?

● Also one of our immortals is **I Vote My Conscience,** the official collection of addresses and published writings of the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio, edited by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein and containing some 40 memorable photographs from the career of the great people's Congressman. Order from the Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 247 E. 116th St., New York 29, N.Y., $5. Again, to offset misinformation so glibly handed out in schoolrooms today, this book belongs on the shelf of your local library.

● Two years ago our Spectator column hailed the first book of Lars Lawrence's trilogy, **The Seed,** and wondered why G. P. Putnam's Sons had performed the "essentially un-capitalistic" act of publishing the novel and then failing to promote it. The first volume, **Morning, Noon and Night,** was followed last year by Vol. 2, **Out of the Dust.** Now the author has obtained all supplies of the first two volumes dealing with racial, political, labor and other conflicts in a sun-baked New Mexico setting—and is offering them at $3 each or $4.50 for the two, through Barthold Fles, 507 Fifth Av., New York 17, N. Y. The third volume is in preparation.

● We've had time only for the merest glance-through of **The Secret Farmyard** (Abelard-Schuman, 404 Fourth Av., N. Y. 16, N.Y., $2.50) but it was enough to inspire nip-ups over this book about a group of Connecticut high-school boys, their dogs, barnyard animals, their chess hobby and the pleasing way the author's plot, based on mixed origins and interests, is brought to its detective-story climax. The author is Ruth Epperson Kennel, now of Burlingame, Calif., but for 20 years a Bridgeport, Conn., resident with many friends among GUARDIAN readers there. Mrs. Kennell has been librarian, newspaper correspondent and a writer of children's stories for many years for youth and Sunday School magazines and for the NEA syndicate.

● Our Buying Service's ace for young readers this year is the giant deluxe Golden Book, **The World We Live In,** produced by Simon & Schuster from **Life** Magazine's project of that name. Beautifully illustrated and out-sized ($8\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 pages), it is a big $4.95 worth, built to stand the fascinated thumbing of waves of youngsters.

● Also in the picture field, for all ages, is **The Family of Man,** based on the famed Museum of Modern Art exhibit of 1955 compiled by pioneer photographer Edward Steichen; $1 postpaid from the Guardian Buying Service. Another wonderful "stocking item," but it will take a pretty big stocking to hold it.

AND OF COURSE you really owe yourself and all your friends the holiday treat of feasting on the GUARDIAN's unique and colorful 1956-57 greeting cards, designed especially for us by Chittaprosad of India. Re-orders are now romping in—a hint for you to order enough for your whole list right away. There was an ass in other times who, because of indecision, starved to death between two bales of hay. Moral: it ain't hay, but it's only $2 a set of ten, less for multiple orders. See P. 12.

—THE GUARDIAN

A REPORT ON THE STRIFE-RIDDEN SOCIALIST WORLD

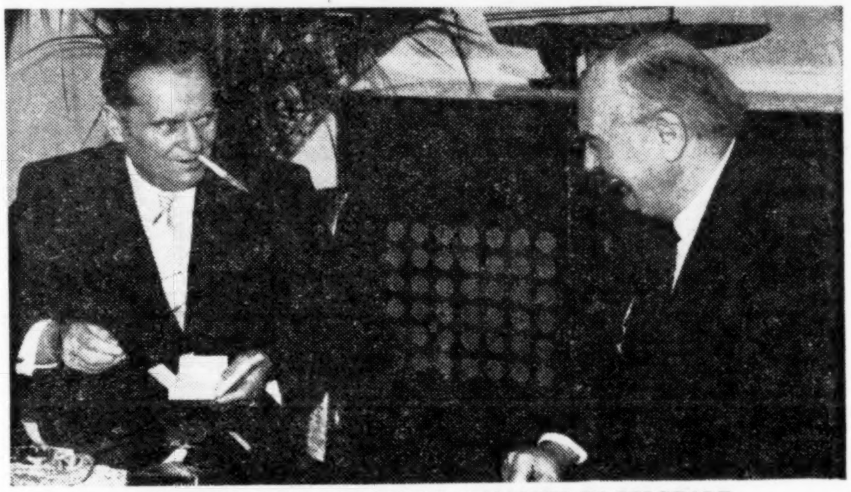
Zilliacus: No going back to the old days

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN THE "PREVIEW ISSUE" of the GUARDIAN (Aug. 1, 1948) a British MP with a lifetime's experience in international affairs wrote that the West's war plans against the U.S.S.R. were doomed because the British people, like the French and Italians, would not fight in such a war. To the GUARDIAN's second weekly issue (Oct. 25, 1948) the same man contributed an interview with Yugoslavia's Tito in which he wrote:

"The talk about ideological differences between Yugoslavia and the Cominform countries, Tito said, was just eyewash. The real issue was the relation between socialist states [which] had to be raised and settled sooner or later . . . The [Yugoslav] people feel hurt and sorrowful about their Soviet comrades, who, they believe, have been sadly misinformed."



MARSHAL TITO AND KONNI ZILLIACUS IN BELGRADE
The rank was Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, Belgrade

BRIGHT PICTURE: Soon afterwards Konni Zilliacus MP was expelled from the Labour Party as too pro-Communist, and condemned by all Communist parties as a Titoist. In the Slansky trial in Prague he was named in numerous "confessions" as chief villain of the "conspiracy". Last year he received the personal apology of Soviet Premier Bulganin outside the House of Commons, to which Zilliacus had returned as member for Gorton. Last month, the between wars League of Nations official, who speaks nearly all the major languages, returned from a journey on which he had been feted by top leaders in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague and Belgrade alike. As confirmed a realist, optimist and socialist as ever, he gave the GUARDIAN a bright picture of the future of the crisis-torn socialist world and the possibilities of laying a new foundation for peace.

A long session with Tito convinced Zilliacus that the Yugoslav leader—buttressed now by the "equality, freedom and national independence" forces in Poland—is "making the running" on the issue of relations between socialist countries and is "determined to fight it through now." Tito believes that the anti-Stalinist trend in the U.S.S.R. is an irreversible process and the new forces are too powerful to be stopped. The Soviet leaders had pressed him to bring Yugoslavia all the way back into the camp of socialist states, but Tito had replied that Yugoslavia preferred to be uncommitted like the Afro-Asian nations whose importance Moscow was always stressing. Tito had taken the view with Khrushchev & Co. that the socialist movement is world-wide, and Yugoslavia wanted to co-operate with it everywhere and not seem to claim a monopoly of it for the socialist states.

GREAT CHANGES: In Poland, which Zilliacus says is "over the hump", Premier Cyrankiewicz told him: "I think we're at the beginning of great changes all over the world. As we get more democracy in our socialism, and you get more socialism in your democracy, we will meet halfway." The Polish leaders had succeeded in convincing the Soviet leaders that they would have another Hungary on their hands if they pushed Poland around—but there was no need for pushing around since the regime was solid and popular and considered the need for Polish-Soviet friendship to be mutual. The national feud between Poles and Russians could be ended on the basis of equality of states, and as Communists and internationalists the leaders had no doubt that this was possible.

A hard look

'WHEN MR. KHRUSHCHEV blurts out that he is prepared for Soviet forces to be withdrawn from the satellite states if a similar withdrawal took place in Western Europe, he is saying something so serious and so weighted with hopeful possibilities that we should not dismiss it . . .

"The answer of the Western powers to the Soviet disarmament proposals should not merely be a barren rejection. They should consider counter proposals, not only for a measure of disarmament but for a critical re-casting of their policies . . . The Baghdad Pact is dead. The Warsaw Treaty is nearing the same end. SEATO never came alive, and NATO just manages to maintain a tepid existence. What are we to put in its place? More alliances? Or are we going to examine the whole thing afresh and try to discover an approach which corresponds more closely to contemporary realities?"

Aneurin Bevan in **Tribune**, Nov. 23.

In Moscow, where Zilliacus met rehabilitated political prisoners everywhere, Khrushchev told him "We have let out most of them and we haven't put anyone else in." Laying special stress on the importance of the alliance with China, Khrushchev said that the principle of direct relations between Communist parties and states without Moscow as intermediary applied to all as it did to Yugoslavia. (Tito, however, justifiably said that Moscow had still to live up to this principle.)

NEWS WITHHELD: The big brake on the democratization process, Zilliacus found, is that the Soviet people are still "sadly misinformed" about world developments and especially world opinion. They still do not know what the world thinks about Soviet actions in Hungary, and newspapers hardly ever refer to the role of Soviet troops there. Tito has extraordinary prestige in the U.S.S.R. as shown by his reception there last summer, but "**Pravda** still can't bring itself to deal honestly with him" and suppressed half of the recent statement about "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists" in the Soviet regime. The recent long speech by Poland's Gomulka went unpublished. Meanwhile the Soviet public is hungry for British news broadcasts and the more free-wheeling newspapers of Warsaw and Belgrade, but early in the Hungarian crisis, jamming of the BBC was resumed and these imported newspapers were often absent from Soviet newsstands.

Hunger for real news and comment from the outside world was shown by the ovation and tornado of questions Zilliacus received from hundreds of young party cadres, who attended his lecture on the Labour Party at the CPSU's Social Science Academy.

THE CHICKEN: He startled the audience with a factual estimate of the political importance of Britain's CP, and said that an electoral alliance between the CP and the Labour Party would be like marrying a chicken to an elephant. The parliamentary change to socialism required votes, and the CP demonstrably couldn't get any. The idea expressed in one Moscow publication, that British workers would go forward to socialism under the CP's leadership was like "putting a spastic in charge of an Olympics team."

In spite of the continuing blackout on information—which is being more and more strongly protested by Soviet citizens—Zilliacus left the U.S.S.R. as convinced as Tito that a return to Stalinism is impossible. After talks with top editors and economists, university heads and students, he was deeply impressed by the power of the new forces for freedom in the U.S.S.R. "The present collective leadership is here to stay", he told the GUARDIAN, "but the liberalization camp will win out. It will do so because, in the complex society of today with its demands for ever more intellectuals and specialists, it is a simple necessity."

"We'll bury you"

GOING BACK to the actual Russian words used, linguist Zilliacus explained what tactless, talkative Khrushchev really said in his "We'll bury you" crack to Western diplomats which won scare headlines everywhere.

"It's a familiar Russian phrase—'we will live to bury you.' It simply means, 'We'll survive you.' That's what everyone in the Soviet thinks about their socialist system."

LEARNED THEIR PARTS: In Prague, Zilliacus lectured to another great audience on "peaceful co-existence." His theme was that peaceful co-existence would help promote democracy and freedom but that it also worked the other way around. In the capital of Czechoslovakia the multilingual MP had "the most macabre experience of my life" when old socialist friends, who had been in jail since the Slansky trial, told him how they had been "persuaded" to name him as their chief contact with Western and Titoist "wreckers". Befuddled by continuous deprivation of sleep, they had finally yielded to the insistence that it was "for the good of the Party" that they should testify falsely. The cold war, they were told, was like a real war in which sometimes a unit must be sacrificed for the good of the whole army.

They had been given parts to learn by heart and had rehearsed them over and over, with a "producer" playing the role of public prosecutor, until they were word-perfect. So well were their parts learned the they could never forget them, and to Zilliacus' horrified fascination they began to recite them to him in Prague living-rooms last month. Yet now, their party cards restored, they showed no trace of bitterness and—despite Hungary—complete faith that the democratization process would go on. They spoke enthusiastically of Czechoslovakia's new social insurance law which, they said, "is in advance of the whole world."

THE FUTURE: One of them told Zilliacus that it was always the intellectuals who found it hardest to resist the pressure to "confess" uncommitted crimes. He said: "The only fellow I knew who stood out against sleeplessness and torture—for a whole year yet—was a big, simple man of indestructible faith. He was so certain the Party was something good that nothing would convince him it was the Party doing this to him."

Zilliacus met in Warsaw an old man of 75 whom he had known long ago as one of the founders of the Third International. This man spent the past 22 years in northern Siberia and knew almost nothing of Western events during that time. Full of faith and optimism, he came to see Zilliacus about . . . the launching of a new International.

With regard to future perspectives, Zilliacus constituted himself everywhere a one-man bandwagon for the Labour Party and the contribution he believes it can make to world relaxation and peace. Quoting his party's recent resolution on the key issue of Germany—for unification, free elections, progressive withdrawal of all foreign troops, and an all-Europe security pact within the UN charter—he drew qualified approval of it from Khrushchev; Polish, Czech and Yugoslav leaders all thought it a basis on which they could come to terms with the West. He returned surer than ever that the U.S.S.R. will listen to a proposal along these lines and, if the German question is solved, will quickly put in order its relations with Hungary and other "cordon sanitaire" states; that it really wants disarmament and economic co-operation agreements with the West to settle the crises both in Europe and the Middle East.

UN THE ANSWER: Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz had stressed that, while Poland had won internal independence by its own efforts, complete freedom and security were bound up with great power relationships—the gradual dissolving of all "blocs" and building of security pacts through UN.

"More and more," Zilliacus summed up, "it is a question for all of us of having to work through UN. The danger of a war of extinction is too great for any government to think in any other way. As Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki said to me, Egypt and Hungary have shown that the H-bomb is no longer a deterrent. Both the Soviet and Britain have behaved as if it didn't exist—but it does, and the world can't get away with many such 'incidents'. So we must make peace—which is not at all the same thing as not making war."

I left Zilliacus in the House of Commons tearoom thinking about his own contribution to his party's fight for peace, now that he is back in the middle of the storm over Egypt. The Labour Party will be pressing hard for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops, and for an early debate on allegations of "collusion" with Israel. Zilliacus hopes to contribute a telling analogy with the 1935 sell-out of Ethiopia to Mussolini via the notorious Hoare-Laval Pact, likewise engineered by a deceptively innocent-looking Eden at a secret conference with the aggressors in Paris.

The Holidays Are Around the Corner

Be sure to order your Guardian holiday cards today. For convenience use coupon on page 12.

THIS IS EGYPT TODAY—II

The people's miserable life

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

CAIRO

ALONG THE NILE for long stretches the profound silence is broken only by the moaning whine of the camel, or cow-drawn water wheel, or by the rythmic creak of the shadof, one of the first crude pumping contraptions invented in antiquity. A curved stick with a pail at one end and a bulb of caked mud at the other, it is manipulated to draw water out of the rivers and canals.

To the uninitiated, this drawing of water might seem haphazard. In fact, it is planned down to the last detail of a minute system of irrigation canals. Each plot of land, however tiny, has its day for irrigation; and if, by some misfortune, the day is missed, it will not have another till its turn comes round again. For every fellah (peasant) takes his water from the canal; without planning and control a canal might be full one day and empty another. The government, which controls all irrigation and hence all water, must know just what demands will be made and when.

This means that cultivation is to a large extent planned. The government has a greater degree of control of agriculture on a planned basis than any socialist government. It checks just what type of crop will be grown, and in what area, and what quantity of water will be needed. This necessitates a detailed government administration extending into every village and operating every day of the year. Hence no part of the country is remote from the central administration and peasant revolt is a very difficult thing.

A MISERABLE LIFE: Yet few people anywhere could have more to revolt against: it is hard to imagine a life more miserable than that endured by the Egyptian fellaheen. They have no standard of living—anything lower would be death—and is, as the high mortality rate shows. Conditions in Upper Egypt are bad enough but the region, where basin rather than perennial irrigation is used, is relatively free of the endemic diseases which ravage the people of the Delta. Workers on construction jobs in Alexandria and Cairo, or building roads and dams in the countryside, invariably come from Upper Egypt, for the people of the Delta are too weak and diseased for such jobs. Over the years, malnutrition has reduced the peasants of the Delta in stature and strength.

AS THOUGH THERE WERE NOT SUFFERING ENOUGH
Children probe the ruins of Port Said after the bombings

Bilharziasis, which comes from contact with infected water, is the worst and most widespread of the endemic diseases (in the Delta its incidence in 70%). It produces profound weakness, anemia and organic disorders. Those infected with this and other parasitic diseases have a hemoglobin roughly one third of a normal man. "In any other country," said a doctor with whom I visited some villages along the Ismailia Canal, "these people would be rushed to a hospital for blood transfusions. Here they work all day in the fields. They will die soon if they do. They will die just as soon—of hunger—if they don't."

WHY THEY SUFFER: The basic cause of the fellaheen's misery is that they are chained to the land by a network of semi-feudal, semi-capitalist relationships designed to guarantee their maximum exploitation. Here, where 62% of the people live on the land, there would be—if land were distributed equally—no more than 2 or 3 feddans per family (a feddan is roughly an acre). In fact, there is extreme maldistribution. Three-fourths of those actively engaged in agriculture are either landless or own less than half a feddan.

The semi-feudal character of the agricultural system is apparent in:

1. Monopoly of land ownership by a few big landowners and the enormous land hunger of the many.

2. Cultivation on the basis of small plots; the landlord divides the land among small tenants who cultivate it in family units and with their own animals and instruments (which often date from the time of the Pharaohs).

3. The fact that the peasant is tied to the land: despite the law giving labor the freedom to move, the peasant who tries to flee is arrested and brought back to work on the landlord's land.

ALWAYS IN DEBT: The semi-capitalist character of the system shows up in the fact that payments generally are calculated and paid in money and that substantial financing is required because of the commercial character of the crop. The landlord provides the financing and has also slowly taken over the buying of selected seeds for the tenant. The result is that the peasant who is in fact half-laborer and half-farmer ends the year always in debt.

An Egyptian journalist who has lived and worked in the villages of the delta found that a family of four owning a cow, a camel and a donkey (an above-the-average standard) could earn about 30 Egyptian pounds a year—roughly $90.

Under such conditions—with land limited and an enormous over-supply of peasant labor—landlords have had no incentive to mechanize. Bigger profits were to be had without it.

Cultivation of cotton, Egypt's biggest crop and most important export, for example, is more a gardening than a farming operation. Since it is cultivated to bring profits on the world market, plants have been selected only for the quality of fibre and not for ability to resist pests and climate. Thus each plant demands an enormous amount of handwork. Each leaf, for instance, has to be lifted to be inspected continuously for pests. Small children who can get through the plants without injuring them are used for this work—another reason for the high mortality rate.

1952 LAND REFORM: One of the first acts of the new government in 1952 was land reform. Under it, the government says, the land of big owners has been confiscated (except in the case of the royal family compensation was paid) and distributed among the peasants. The reality is somewhat different.

The land reform did two things:

- It limited land ownership to 200 feddans. In Egypt, however, 50 feddans already mark a big proprietor. And it excepted from the limitation all corporations, whatever the amount of their profit, and all land under reclamation. The 200,000 peasant families to whom the 656,000 confiscated feddans was or will be distributed represent only a fraction of the land hungry.
- It put an upper limit on land rents, an essential and important reform which benefitted the great majority and has produced change.

In sum, the regime on the one hand managed to disembarrass itself of the very biggest landowners who constituted the greatest obstacle to reform—without attacking or substantially changing the semi-feudal and semi-capitalist system itself.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM: As a result of the rent ceiling landlords (who cannot always escape application of the law) are beginning to cultivate their own land and to introduce mechanization. Under the old regime, although the entire peasant family worked for the landlord, the labor of women, children and beasts was unpaid. Now, although the law setting a minimum wage of 18 piastres a day for a man is not enforced, the landlord must pay something to everyone who works. Hence the tendency to introduce mechanization.

The result is aggravation of the enormous problem of hidden under-employment or surplus labor on the land. How great this is is suggested by the fact that during the last war a million men were withdrawn from the countryside without affecting production at all. (After the war they were forced back on the land.) With much less than half the degree of mechanization on U.S. farms, it is estimated that 10% of Egypt's farmers could do the work now done.

POLITICAL EFFECT: Progressives in Egypt believe that radical agricultural reform is necessary both to raise the living standard and to provide the resources for the development of heavy industry. The land reform thus far put in effect is wholly inadequate. But it has had a major political effect: the fellaheen have drawn courage from the fact that for the first time a blow has been struck against feudalism and they have been beginning to demand real land reform.

In the long run this means social revolution; and it is this process, which threatens the whole structure of colonial and semi-colonial control, which the Western powers invaded Egypt to halt.

NEXT WEEK: Nasser and the people.

Spotlight

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

I enclose a check for $11, the amount of an offering taken one evening by our guests at World Fellowship. Your inspiring and instructive weekly was always among friends at our Center, and I for one find it most refreshing as I catch up on previous issues that I had to miss during our rush. What would we do without the GUARDIAN staff that probes between the lines of the regular press, raises the questions that the politically and socially alert are concerned about, and puts the spotlight on events in other countries? More power to you!

Willard Uphaus
Executive Director

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2,000 AFFECTED

Screened seamen get sailing papers

SOME 2,000 U. S. seamen, screened off the waterfront as security risks at the height of the frenzy of the Korean war, will now get their sailing papers under a U.S. Court of Appeals ruling in San Francisco on Nov. 16. The court announced that it will issue a mandate enforcing an earlier court order that the Coast Guard validate the seamen's papers immediately.

The ruling came as the government failed to take action before the deadline for an appeal to the Supreme Court passed. The lawsuit against the government was filed in 1951 and a Court of Appeals decision in favor of the seamen was handed down in October, 1955, but its effect was delayed for more than a year by Coast Guard counter-moves.

Heart of the case is the government's use of secret informers and observers saw in the government's failure to appeal an unwillingness to test that key issue before the Supreme Court. The 1955 decision said that "a doubtful system of secret informers . . . cannot justify an abandonment here of the ancient standards of due process" and attacked the government's own security program by saying that "it is a matter of public record that the somewhat comparable security risk program directed at government employes has been used to victimize perfectly innocent men."

The court asked: "Is this system of secret informers, whisperers and talebearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying to the citizen even a modicum of the protection traditionally associated with due process?"

A MIDDLE EAST SOLUTION—I

Stakes in the conflict: big oil and big power

By Kumar Goshal

First of two articles

HOWEVER UNEASY it may be, a cease-fire has been established and United Nations Emergency Forces (**UNEF**) have been arriving in Egypt. Governments have been increasingly turning their attention to finding more lasting solutions to the problems raised by Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. and the continuing Israeli-Arab conflict.

Of the two problems, the one concerning unrestricted traffic through the Suez Canal would seem to be easier to solve in terms of the legitimate interests of Britain and France.

Legitimate British and French interests would involve a guaranteed supply of Middle East oil vital to their economy. With coal becoming scarcer and nuclear fuel development still in its infancy, Western Europe as a whole is dependent on Middle East oil for four-fifths of its fuel requirements. The Middle East holds 75% of the world's known and available oil reserves; 60% of the oil going to Europe passes through the Suez Canal, 40% by pipelines to the Mediterranean.

BRITAIN'S STAKE: London and Paris profess to fear Nasser's blocking their oil supply if the canal is left in Egyptian control. This fear would seem to be illogical. To fulfill his pledges of economic development, Nasser would be anxious to secure the maximum income from canal traffic. India, Burma, Indonesia and other S-E Asian countries supporting Egypt in the current conflict would also be interested in the free flow of traffic through the canal and a guaranteed supply of oil to Western Europe. Their rapid economic development requires a vast supply of industrial equipment which must be manufactured in Western Europe and transported through the canal.

Anglo-French worries in reality stem from a different source. Britain owns 50% (Gulf Oil owns the other half) of the oil resources of the tiny British protectorate of Kuwait, which is the biggest producer of oil along the Persian Gulf. Kuwait's fabulous oil reserves, in fact, are potentially capable of supplying all of Western Europe's fuel needs. Britain fears the effect of Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. on her still vastly profitable Kuwait oil holdings.

But this is a risk London will have to take, for the days of making gigantic profits by controlling the resources of an underdeveloped country are rapidly coming to an end. This risk, however, does not seem to be imminent. If Britain is willing to accept a guaranteed fuel supply for her industry, the Indian proposal for Egyptian control of the Suez Canal, with representative canal users advising the canal authority on toll rates and maintenance, offers a reasonable solution.

FRANCE'S STAKE: The Indian proposal would solve France's fuel problem, but not her fear of Nasser aiding the Algerians fighting for their freedom. Yet the Algerians cannot be blamed for accepting Nasser's aid in their struggle for freedom: the American colonies accepted French assistance and the Israelis welcomed Czechoslovakian aid in their struggles.

Paris can solve this problem not by trying to topple Nasser but by coming to terms with Algerian leaders, as she has been obliged to do with the Moroccans and the Tunisians. The sooner she reconciles herself to today's irresistible spirit of colonial liberation, the better chance she will have to establish fair and fruitful economic relations with the peoples of N. Africa.

AMERICAN STAKE: Washington and Moscow have somewhat different stakes and problems in the Middle-East.

U. S. oil interests have a huge $2 billion stake in the Middle East, but most of its oil by-passes the Suez Canal and goes by pipelines to the Mediterranean. Besides, the U. S. is not as dependent on Middle East oil as Western Europe. Harvey O'Connor, author of **The Empire of Oil,** wrote in the **American Socialist** (November, 1956): "The nationalization of Middle East oil will hardly follow on Egypt's control of Suez . . . The kingpin of the U. S. oil industry, Standard of New Jersey, is not too directly menaced by the Suez incident . . . Jersey doesn't care for the nationalization of Suez any more than any other company, but for Jersey it is not a life-and-death matter."

Washington's policy in the Middle East has been based largely on keeping the Soviet Union out of the region by means of a cordon sanitaire of military pacts. But these military alliances became obsolete the moment Moscow leap-frogged over Washington's allies and established friendly relations with Egypt; and they practically collapsed when the Arab world lined up with Egypt in the Suez controversy.

SOVIET STAKE: Soviet policy has been to break through the U. S.-imposed military wall, protect its own oil fields in the neighborhood of the Middle East, and obtain access to Middle Eastern oil for its own industries growing with incredible speed. Washington and Moscow will have to learn to accommodate each other in that region; the Suez nationalization, however, has no direct relationship to this problem.

ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER GOLDA MEIR REACHES THE UN
She is shown with Assembly President Waithayakon of Thailand

The solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict first of all would seem to require breaking away from the prevailing Jewish and Arab claims and counter-claims. Although Israel has its special problems in relation to its neighbors, its geographical position and the methods the Israeli government has thus far used to try to solve its problems have willy-nilly involved it in other Middle-Eastern problems.

THE PRO AND CON: Summarizing these claims and counter-claims, Waldo Frank wrote (**The Nation, 11/10**): "The Jews claim Palestine as their ancestral home, and their one home . . . The Arabs claim that they have lived there for the past twelve centuries. The Jews quote the Balfour Declaration; the Arabs reject Britain's right to have made it. The Jews place on record the bill-of-sale for every Palestinian acre they acquired until the Arabs made war or left the land to the victors; the Arabs reply that American dollars are a form of invasion . . . The Jews remind the world that they were homeless and landless because of persecution, whereas the refugee Arabs have a million square miles in which to settle. The Arabs counter that they are not responsible for the world's treatment of the Jews and that a man's being homeless does not justify his invading the house of another, no matter how spacious with how many empty rooms. The West clamors its need of maintaining the Middle East as an open highway for its commerce, a life-line for its oil; Russia puts forth analogous claims; the Arabs insist that the rights of their nations take precedent over the privilege of obsolescent empires."

THE BASIC ISSUES: These claims and counter-claims are futile and reach a dead end because they overlook the essential issues. No matter how the present situation came to be, the fact remains that Israel is here to stay because the Israelis have nowhere to go and the Arabs refugees have. Without Israel the Israeli Jews would perish, as those who went there would have perished if there had been no Palestine for them to go to, as many of them did in fact perish when Britain barred them from entry into Palestine. "Their presence in Palestine," as Waldo Frank said, "need not hinder the health and happiness of a single Arab. On the contrary, their skills, industrial, political, scientific, can be of great value to their neighbors."

But, as Waldo Frank also said, "their presence in Palestine calls for many adjustments," especially adjustments relating to the Arab refugees, whose plight also cries out for a just solution. In failing to reach the needed adjustment, Israelis, Arabs, the Western powers jockeying for position and even the UN seem to have been at fault.

Next week: The proposals for peace.

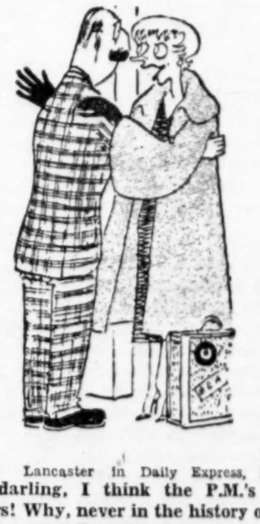
Peril of war

(Continued from Page 1)

program's dollars went for salaries and villas for its experts. (There is similar feeling in Egypt.)

POPULAR FRONT PLAN: Pressure by Jordan's people (whose high political consciousness is 50 years ahead of Egypt's) forced Baghdad Pact supporters in the Jordan parliament to vote for abrogation of the British treaty and recognition of the Soviet Union and China. Jordanian students in Egypt joined the "Liberation Army" because they consider Egypt's battle to be that of the whole Arab world.

On the subject of Arab unity an editorial in **Al Massa** proposed to answer the intrigues of "imperialist collaborators" in some Arab governments by "strengthening an Arab popular front." It said: "We should start to bind popular Arab organizations with a clear charter stipulating the aims and demands of the Arab people, and popular organizations should immediately spread the word." It said that strengthening popular fronts "means widening the same by including all nationalistic elements that wish to oppose imperialism." It proposed conferences and constant contact among popular organizations.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"But, darling, I think the P.M.'s done wonders! Why, never in the history of human transport has the Suez Canal been blocked to so many by so few for so long!"

QUESTIONS ABOUT UN: Meanwhile uneasiness grew here with the continued flouting of the UN by the Western powers. Egypt has done everything to facilitate a UN solution and has staked much on it, but the man in the street is beginning to question what faith can be placed in the UN. All last week papers hailed the reports of U. S. support for Egypt but called for stronger U. S. action to force out the invaders.

The statement by U. S. delegate Lodge that canal clearance could begin before evacuation, caused widespread disappointment. People are wondering about the role of the UN police force in view of this situation. They note that the Soviet Union's Shepilov demanded that Egypt have the right to say when the UN force is to go. Reported plans by some powers to link the UN police force to some overall settlement do not inspire confidence; nor does the continued assumption in some Western circles that the canal will be internationalized. Nobody here believes Nasser would ever agree to such a plan, since then there would be no calm in the country. Rather there would be fear that the Western powers may pretend to accept nationalization while trying to undermine it with technical assistance boards, even under UN supervision.

[The UN General Assembly on Nov. 24 passed a forthright resolution, sponsored by India and 20 other Asian and African nations, demanding that British-French-Israeli forces withdraw "forthwith" from Egypt. The voting was 63 in favor (including the U.S.), five against, (Britain, France, Israel, Australia, New Zealand) and nine abstentions (Nicaragua was absent). The Assembly overwhelmingly voted down a Belgian amendment softening the language; India's Krishna Menon wondered why it should take the British-French-Israeli forces "longer to leave Egypt than it took them to get in."

[Another resolution, sponsored by the U.S., India, Canada, Colombia, Norway and Yugoslavia, noted with approval UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold's reports on the functions of the UN Emergency Force and the clearing of the Suez Canal and authorized him to proceed with further negotiations in Cairo. The Assembly overwhelmingly approved this resolution.]

"NO, AMERICA": The biggest fear seems to be the price demanded for U. S. dollars. Most persons believe that Nasser will not accept conditions. It is recalled that Franklin D. Roosevelt once said you can't negotiate when one party has his gun on the table. There are no signs that the gun is to be removed. The government paper **Al Gomhouria** in an editorial titled, "No, America," said on Nov. 25: "We exhort America to attach more importance to world peace than to the so-called Western alliance which Britain is using as a pretext whereby she may perpetrate flagrant acts of aggression against small nations."

The editorial pointed out the use of NATO arms against Egypt and added: "Any help from you for Britain and France before they withdraw troops completely will mean for us and all the world that you are taking part in this plot which aims to destroy Arab unity and spread colonialism."

W. E. B. DuBOIS

'National Guardianship'

Following is the address by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois at the NATIONAL GUARDIAN's eighth birthday dinner in New York on Nov. 15.

THESE ARE DAYS of disappointment and even frustration for those who have seen a world marching forward toward the welfare state and then hesitating and partially retreating before counter-revolution.

In human history there is nothing unusual in this situation. Progress is seldom continuous. Time and again in the history of mankind it has faltered, and we have only to remember that the progress of men, which is not to be doubted in the long run, is never a straight march but is always a lurching forward and a falling back, and we only keep up hope as we see that progress has continued and will continue.

Nevertheless in these days of uncertainty, we have to live and here in the United States, where for many it is difficult to earn a living without selling one's soul to falsehood and greed; where it is not always safe to speak or write frankly unless one agrees with current public opinion, this is the time of all times when the wise man falls back on clear thinking which is still possible, and real knowledge, which is still obtainable, in order at least in his own soul to know the truth and to build a future on it.

LET ME VENTURE to recall some pertinent things which have happened in the fifty-sixth year of the last five centuries. In the year 1456 the Turks had just captured Constantinople and Mohammedanism and Christianity stared each other full in the face. Gutenberg had published the Bible from movable type. Prince Henry the Navigator had opened an unknown world, while a little ragged boy of five, Christopher Columbus, was racing through the streets of Genoa and watching the great ships sail away. In China the Ming dynasty reigned and scholars were publishing dictionaries. The people, the great masses of all people, were dumb, driven cattle. But among the leading few of Europe a curiosity to know the past arose; a yearning stirred in their hearts for the "fair face of beauty all too fair to see." Michelangelo painted and carved in the Vatican. Cathedrals blossomed in stone. This was the age of Renaissance. But what were the people doing and thinking—the ordinary people who work and slave to feed and clothe the world? We know little of them. They toiled under rod and whip; they died like flies when the Black Death swept from Constantinople to London, where alone 68,000 died. They walked in dirt, rags and lice.

FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO in 1556, three men were destined to remake our conception of the world as center of the universe: Copernicus who was dying; Galileo who was being born; and Francis Bacon, father of modern science, who was five years old. Suleiman the Magnificent had his foot on the heart of Europe, and the great Emperor Akbar ruled in India.

In Europe, the masses of awakening men tried to believe in good. They fought and killed to believe. Luther died in 1546; in the mad throes of Reformation which followed, millions were crippled, burned, and killed. On one wild night of 1572, 50,000 Christians murdered each other and reddened the streets of France.

The punishment of crime was based on revenge, exquisite pain, and protection of property. Criminals were to be killed, not cured. In the throes of religion from the beginning of the fifteenth century with Joan of Arc to the end of the eighteenth, 300,000 witches were tortured, hanged, and burned alive. The Mongols swept over the toiling masses of India.

THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, in 1656, Shakespeare had sung his song and played his part and was forty years dead at fifty years of age. The Thirty Years War, perhaps the most horrible of modern times, was eight years ended, but its misery and filth still lived. John Bunyan was in jail writing "Pilgrim's Progress," Milton was recording the loss of Paradise, and Moliere was amusing the court of Louis XIV. In India the Taj Mahal was standing in sheer beauty. The Chinese had issued an encyclopedia in 24,000 volumes.

The year 1756 was in the center of the age of science. Johnson's dictionary was published, but symbolically cutting across it, this year saw the Black Hole of Calcutta as Asiatic protest against European intrusion and Lisbon had an earthquake which killed tens of thousands. In Africa the black Mandingo empires were spreading Mohammedanism west and south, and the heathen Bantu peoples began marching south where a century later they met the Boers. In between the slowly retreating millions and the state-building intruders, western Christianity thrust with trade in gold, pepper, and slaves. On the slavery of Negroes, Britain founded her wealth, commerce, and empire. Capitalistic production was built on her slave trade. As Karl Marx wrote in a celebrated passage: "If money comes into the world with a congenital bloodstain on one cheek, capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." England seized India at Plassey, George III reigned, and later lost America; Robert Owen and William Godwin argued the matter of income for the poor; William Pitt and Benjamin Franklin guided politics and science, and exactly two hundred years ago this year, the Seven Years War began colonial imperialism of the white European world over the darker nations of the earth, an adventure which still fights at Suez this very day.

Exploitation of labor: that is the inborn idea that most men are born to work for the support, ease, and luxury of the few for various reasons like superior merit, color of skin, or progress of culture. This idea, beginning in slavery and developing through serfdom to wage labor and military might, still exists today in the minds of most folk to poison every effort to raise the mass of men to real and effective equality.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO in 1856, Darwin was working on his **Origin of Species** and the Negroid Dumas was writing his novels. The Bessemer process of making steel was transforming industry into dictatorship, and the Communist Manifesto, then eight years old, was beginning to ferment in the minds of discontented men. The labor movement, with strikes and unions, began to spread in Europe. The Cotton Kingdom arose in America. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861, but in the United States the Supreme Court heard the arguments in the Dred Scott case, and its decision in 1857 tried to fasten slavery on American Negroes forever; while John Brown raided the slave-owners in Kansas. The Crimean War was fought to conquer the Balkans, including Hungary, and the war of England against China aimed at complete European domination of the entire East. The West fought bitterly against popular education, for the continued subjection of women, and against votes for the mass of laborers. The Reform Bill and our Civil War heralded change!

W. E. B. DuBOIS
And Guardian birthday candles

WITH THIS BACKGROUND there was left a weird task for the twentieth century. We can scarcely be surprised if we have not in 1956 even begun to clean up the mess—neither surprised nor discouraged. We see a head-on collision between social progress and incorporated wealth, striving to save scientific knowledge from the monopoly of private wealth and build a state which would exist for the benefit of those who have made and need it and not for those who by chance or legal chicanery claim to own it. On the whole the progress toward such states has succeeded to a marked degree in most nations. In Russia, Eastern Europe, and China, its success is the wonder of our age which nothing can disparage, even if we know that the path has not been straight nor the goal yet wholly attained.

In the United States we have far from failed. We have moved decisively toward the welfare state by mass education and a standard of living above most of the world; roads, state housing, and federal flood control; recognition of labor unions; scientific research and marvellous technique helped by the government; and a growing recognition of the right even of black folk to live as equals of whites. All this has lulled the nation to acquiescence in our great losses: the failure of democratic control of our government; the increasing rule of private wealth and the use of that wealth for war on socialism, for control of colonial labor and materials. To support this dictatorship of the rich we have tried to stop our bold and wise men from thinking and expressing their thought, and from pointing out our mistakes and danger. The counter-revolution of private wealth against social welfare has put many of our leaders in jail; has scared most of our scientists into silence, has choked literature, hamstrung newsgathering, and made our colleges beggars for the dole of corporations and our teachers of youth the mouthpieces of private industry, set on marking millions of the peoples of the earth the serfs of the white West. For this end even our organized white labor has been bribed and misled, and our civilization has become spending income for show, indulgence, and world war, rather than for further conquest of poverty, disease, and ignorance.

THIS IS THE BATTLE we must yet win, because looking on the past we know that American Big Business is fighting the very stars in their courses, that the welfare state is bound to win. Toward this victory the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, with your help, leads.

We sing with Whitman:

That is nothing that is quell'd by one or two failures, or by any number of failures,
Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people or by any unfaithfulness,
Or the show of the tushes of power. soldiers, cannon, penal statutes.
What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents,
Invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no discouragement,
Waiting patiently, waiting its time.

To keep . . . to give to friends . . .

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RULE NO. 1: THE WEALTH GOES BACK TO THE WORKERS

China: It's no paradise, but hungry days are memory now

By Irene Kuehn

PEKING

CANDIED LOTUS seeds, pickled eggs and spiced sausages, all luxuries and priced that way, are selling briskly to crowds of customers in Peking's new food shops which have sprung up or old ones that have expanded since the government began to help them.

Pork sales in the city have doubled since July and during the summer breweries could not meet the new popular demand for beer. Stores have been well stocked lately with fancy items like perfumes, the production of which has been considerably expanded in partnership with the state. Department store owners and smaller retailers report difficulty in keeping up to the demand for expensive watches, sewing machines, bicycles.

MONEY IN THE BANK: Stores are not only well stocked with items but jam-packed with customers. This is not to say that all Chinese are prosperous. Compared with the U.S., living standards are still very low. The daily meal is mainly rice with some vegetables and a little meat. None but the most well-heeled have refrigerators. But almost every worker and many peasants now possess a bicycle, about as necessary here as a car is in the U.S. Everyone has several suits of clothes and the time when a large majority of Chinese had too little to eat or wear is fast being forgotten.

In Shanghai, according to newspaper reports, one out of every three persons—probably an unprecedented figure for China—has money in the bank. The new feeling of well-being is due largely to a recent nationwide wage raise for most of the 18,000,000 office and factory workers, and greater harvest dividends for the peasants, about 80% of the population. The raise, retroactive to last April, put a tidy sum in the pockets of most people and sent many on a shopping spree. The plain fact is that almost everyone in China today has more money in his pocket.

Workers in industries owned by the state or jointly operated by the government and private capital are now taking home some 14.7% extra each month. This means an average increase of 80 yuan annually per worker, just about what it takes to buy a year's basic food for one person. (Items in the basic diet are much cheaper here than in the U.S.) When the enterprises converted to joint government-private operation early this year complete their wage reform, their raises will be even higher.

NO PRICE SPIRAL: The current wage raise, while the most sweeping in the country's history, is not the first since the People's Government came to power in 1949. Through a series of smaller, local or industrial increases, money wages had already gone up 90% between that time and this year's hike. It has been a raise in real wages because in this planned economy, if prices have moved at all, it has been downward.

Actually, a worker's real income is considerably more than his take-home pay, since it includes retirement insurance, free medical care and education, and in many cases subsidies for rent, heating and transportation. In the four years since the first Five-year Plan began in 1953, the state and individual employers have paid out a sum equal to 13% of their total annual wage figure for these benefits, according to statistics given at the 8th CP Congress, which met here in September.

RIPE FOR RAISES: Rule No. 1 here is that since wealth is produced by the workers, it must return to them; as national productivity rises, so must wages. The First Five-year Plan envisaged an annual productivity rise of 8.6% and a wage rise of 5.8%. The difference was for reinvestment to build industry and machines for the future. At present about 20% of the national income goes for the reinvestment, and the remainder into governmental expenditures and wages. By the end of last year, things had gone better than expected and productivity had risen 41% since the Plan began. But wages had gone up only 13.7% in the same period; the time was ripe for a raise.

TIME OFF FOR A LITTLE FUN
Then back to building a flood control dam

A conference last April of representatives of the unions, the CP and the government ministries responsible for running various industries, drafted wage proposals, based on the needs of the workers and the national economy. Adopted by the State Council, the highest governing body, in June, the final program increased wages 35.5% over 1952. It meant that wages in four years have been upped slightly more than the original 33% planned to be accomplished in five years. Both wages and farm incomes are scheduled to go up another 25-30%, and productivity 50% during the second Five-year Plan (1958-62), as announced at the Party Congress.

NEW SCALES: Along with the raise, a new national scale of payments went into effect. It ironed out many disparities between jobs and industries which had hung over from the days of capitalism. For instance, one welder might have been paid differently from another doing the same job in another factory. Applying the socialist principle "to each according to his work," the new national scales—worked out by the three-cornered union-Party-government discussions—sets pay scales generally according to the amount of responsibility, training and skill required for the job.

Workers in industries like oil, steel or machine building, most important to the Five-year Plan and therefore contributing more directly to national production, are on a slightly higher scale. Pay for jobs in factories or on construction sites in remote places like the western province of Sinkiang, is greater than for the same job in an east coast city. This is to compensate for workers' hardship in moving there, and the rough-and-ready frontier conditions.

College professors and other highly-trained personnel have high scales to encourage more young people to train themselves to fill the great need in these fields. Primary school teachers, whose wages had been notably low, received a substantial increase.

CROPS LOOK GOOD: In order to determine who would receive what rate, workers for the past few months have been engaged in setting up through the democratic process what amounts to their own civil service system. Through discussions beginning at the shop level, sets of standards for each job and each rate were worked out. Then either through tests, or discussions among all workers in each department, individuals are slotted at their proper pay level.

Exactly how much the farmers' income will rise is not yet known because it is based on the harvest. Despite serious crop damage this year from a typhoon and unusually heavy summer rains, good harvest prospects are reported from almost every county. Agricultural output is expected to be 8.4% over 1955's bumper crop, and considerably above the figure originally set for 1957 in the Five-year Plan. This is due chiefly to more efficient farming methods in agricultural producers' cooperatives, which the government aids with scientific services and liberal farm credit.

FARMERS GAIN: One thing is certain: incomes of most of the farmers will be greater than they were last year. This is now a part of the state's economic policy. In the past few years, managers of local cooperative farms, faced with a real necessity and an overwhelming desire to purchase tools and make other investments that would improve the community wealth of the co-op, have tended to hold aside a substantial amount of the total crop. It took a CP directive last April, to remind them that no matter how fast the co-op as a whole improved, the peasants would not appreciate the benefits of being members unless their own family incomes went up.

Urging "less deduction, more distribution," the Party suggested that between 60 and 70% of the crop be returned to the farmers in direct income. This payment will be either a lump sum after the crop is divided, or a portion of the co-op's production which the farmer can sell on the free market; or it may be a combination of both forms.

Irene Kuehn is a former New York newspaperwoman now living and working in China.

THE BRADEN-BOWN CASE

Louisville 'sedition' fiasco ends as all charges are dismissed

Special to the Guardian

LOUISVILLE, Ky.

SEDITION, CONSPIRACY, contempt, and bombing charges against seven persons were dismissed by Judge L. R. Curtis of Criminal Court on Nov. 20 at the request of State's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton.

The prosecutor asked for dismissal of all charges after Curtis refused to allow him to introduce allegedly subversive books as evidence against Vernon Bown, who was scheduled to be tried on the charge of dynamiting a Negro's home in June, 1954. Harry S. McAlpin, local Negro leader and chief counsel for Bown, had objected to the use of any evidence not directly connected with the explosion.

Hamilton had admitted he couldn't convict Bown unless he was allowed to use books and papers seized in two raids on Bown's home, both without search warrants. The prosecutor said he didn't have enough evidence to convict Bown of the bombing. McAlpin had filed statements of three persons who said Bown was with them in Milwaukee when the house blew up.

'RED PLOT': Bown is a white truck driver who moved in with the Negroes, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew E. Wade IV, to protect the family against violence. He and six other white supporters of the Wades were indicted in September, 1954. The others included Carl and Anne Braden, journalists, who had bought the house in a previously all-white neighborhood and transferred it to the Wades.

Hamilton charged that the purchase and bombing of the house were part of a Communist plot to stir up racial strife and bring about a political revolution that would lead to the overthrow of the governments of the U. S. and Kentucky by force and violence. An old state sedition law was used for the first time.

Bown, the Bradens, and two others were charged with conspiring to dynamite the house, while Bown was accused of the actual bombing. Four of the conspiracy defendants and two other persons were charged with sedition. Bown was also accused of contempt of court.

CONVICTION REVERSED: Braden was sentenced to 15 years in prison and fined $5,000 on the sedition charge after a 13-day trial in December, 1954. Last June the State Court of Appeals threw out the conviction.

Wade, an electrical contractor, is still engaged in a court fight over the ownership of the $11,300 house, which still lies in ruins. Damage amounted to $5,500.

Modern Mother Goose

Little Bo Peep has lost her
sheep
And doesn't know where to
find them.
She didn't know that they
couldn't grow
With genes destroyed by
Strontium.

The Holidays Are Around the Corner

Be sure to order your Guardian holiday cards today. For convenience use coupon on page 12.

CASE OF PETER FRYER

London 'Worker' censors its reporter on Hungary

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

IN THE BRITISH Communist Party crisis set off by the slaughter in Hungary, London **Daily Worker** correspondent Peter Fryer emerged as a nationally-headlined storm-center on his return from Budapest Nov. 15. Next day the **Worker** front-paged two parallel sensations: an explanation of why it had censored or suppressed his dispatches, and Fryer's statement re-affirming his version of Hungarian events and tendering his resignation from the paper, for which he "was proud to work for almost nine years." The **Worker** called his reports "unbalanced" and "not objective." The story was a plum for the commercial press, which was giving lavish and prominent space daily to the CP while noting editorially that its importance was next to zero.

CONFESS: Fryer's position more or less paralleled that of Basil Davidson, progressive **Daily Herald** correspondent who was also an eye-witness of the Hungarian events. Davidson knows Hungary well and was himself named as a "British agent" in the trial of Laszlo Rajk who was posthumously "rehabilitated". In the last of three **Herald** articles Davidson recalled that Prime Minister Kadar was "among those who went to Rajk in prison and begged him "to confess for the sake of the Party"; that at that time "thousands" went into concentration camps and "at least 93 innocent men and women were hanged" and many others tortured. In Davidson's view, "by 1954 most Hungarians lived worse than at any time in memory". He summed up:

De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

"For the Russians to pretend . . . that Hungary's revolt was organized and run by 'fascists and reactionaries' is a piece of lying cynicism not easily equaled in the history of modern times."

BRUTAL AS KENYA: Also well acquainted with Hungary after four visits in seven years, Fryer in his resignation statement referred to the background of terror and corruption but said: "The people have no desire to return to capitalism and want to retain all the positive social achievements of the past 12 years . . . But power was in the hands of the armed people, and they were fully aware of the danger of counter-revolution and were themselves fully capable of smashing it." He called the Soviet action "no less brutal than, say, British rule in Kenya", and said it could not be defended while "deploring British aggression in Egypt."

Citing examples in an interview with the GUARDIAN, Fryer mentioned the Babolna state farm which he visited on Oct. 29 and 30, after most of the "first phase" fighting had stopped. There, he said:

"A brutal director had been appointed —an iron worker with no knowledge of farming—who had recently beaten up one of the shepherds. When the rising started, the shepherd's two sons beat up the director, and workers searching the Party safe found stoolpigeon dossiers on the 'reliability' of every man and woman on the farm, which they burned. I watched them electing a revolutionary comittee, a council and a new director by secret ballot—a slow process because, as they explained, this was the first experience they ever had of a democratic election. At the meeting they discussed at length the question of maintaining order, of keeping food supplies moving to Budapest, and of the local CP whose liquidation one worker demanded. Communist farm workers spoke frankly of their past mistakes, and it was decided that the CP should be allowed to function as freely as any other party.

NO MASS LYNCHING: "Everything I saw confirmed that this was a microcosm of the revolution that took place throughout Hungary. Fascist elements, of course, were trying to take advantage of the situation, but nothing indicated that they had any chance of gaining ascendancy. I can't say categorically that there was no white terror anywhere, but I do say that the power was overwhelmingly in the hands of revolutionary committee such as the one at Babolna. Such was the situation at Csepel, a real proletarian center which put up a heroic fight against the Germans and fascists in past years and which resisted Soviet troops to the end. The same with the miners at Tatabanya —a pampered group if any one was in Hungary—who rose to a man against the AVH secret police. AVH men were being strung up by the infuriated people as soon as they were caught, but Bruce Renton is correct when he writes in the **New Statesman & Nation** that there was no mass lynching party and Communists continued to walk about freely.

"The fact is that leading positions in the Hungarian CP were filled with careerists—some of them ex-fascists—who were in the party merely to feather their own nests, and who simply crumbled up after the uprising. The other party people—perhaps half of them, but of course I don't know the exact proportion—joined the uprising and fought the Russians. The **Worker** is being absolutely shabby when it says that it would have been inhuman for Soviet troops not to intervene. It was a question of whether or not to have confidence in the people."

STILL IN CP: Fryer himself was standing outside Hampstead subway station selling **Daily Workers** as he had done on Saturdays for the past three years when in London. The papers he sold contained an article by editor J. R. Campbell who had just returned from a trip to Moscow, entitled: "Hungary—the Choice that Saved Peace."

Fryer told the GUARDIAN: "It is suicide for the party to try to conceal the truth. I was holier than the Pope on Stalin in the past, but I cannot go against the evidence of my own eyes and ears. The Party can be wrong, but I believe in it and shall stay and fight with many other comrades to make it right."

CRISIS OF FRENCH CP

Writers break the silence; rank and file is restless

PARIS

By Anne Bauer

Special to the Guardian

THE HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY weighs heavily on communists and progressives in France, as it does on the progressive Left in all Western countries. The attacks on the CP headquarters in Paris (tolerated, if it wasn't encouraged by the Socialist government) which killed three and wounded many, the distortions in the press are one thing; Hungary is another.

On the Left, many people of good will have not slept much these past weeks. While the killing went on in Budapest and confusion grew inside Hungary and out, they kept asking themselves how things could have come to such a pass in a "popular democracy," and whether one socialist country, using armed force to uphold socialism in another, would further the cause of socialism in the world. All the while they waited for a valid explanation from Moscow, or in their own party press. None came.

For communist and progressive intellectuals, the old question of party discipline was never more anguishing. It was a question of conscience each had to settle with himself. Most remained silent because they felt that in the face of the virulent attacks against the Left, it was not the time to ask questions publicly and provoke the danger of a rift.

THEY SPEAK OUT: But the silence was broken by some prominent writers and intellectuals, among whom the best known outside France are Vercors, Claude Roy, author of **Into China** (GUARDIAN, Oct. 22) and, of course, Jean-Paul Sartre. These writers, while denying to any one silent on the invasion of Egypt the right to speak up about Hungary, protested "against the use of cannon and tanks to break the revolt of the Hungarian people."

Last week ten prominent intellectuals, including Pablo Picasso, in a highly critical letter, demanded a special CP congress to discuss "truthfully and realistically the innumerable problems facing Communists." The party leadership's first response to the unrest came in a speech by CP leader Maurice Thorez, who spoke of the "weak elements in our ranks who are tottering." Jacques Rolland, a writer, was expelled from the party; others were suspended, and still others—among them Roy—were publicly rebuked.

It was to be expected that the intellectuals would be the first to be profoundly disturbed about Hungary. But it would be absurd to pretend that the rank and file was not also deeply alarmed.

The French CP was the only one among the Western parties that had seemed to digest the Khrushchev report without difficulty. There were no major defections; but neither was there a wholesome shock. Things went on much the same as before.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

It was too much

The French CP has remained one of the most orthodox outside the USSR. For example, Polish CP Secy. Gomulka's famous October speech was not published by **Humanite**, because, the Central Committee explained later, "several passages in that report are in contradiction with the theses democratically elaborated by our own last Party Congress."

THEY ASK QUESTIONS: The intellectuals who spoke their hearts publicly knew they would be charged with having broken party unity at a time of crisis. To the reproach that they believed the bourgeois press and the government radio without waiting to verify such doubtful sources of information, they said in return:

Why could they find no valid explanation in their own party press, the kind of frank explanation that had been promised in the Khrushchev report? Could they continue to wait for such an explanation—whether its absence was due to local failings or to Moscow's own silence? Is it tolerable for any Communist Party to remain on the defensive, and reply to the assaults of the right with slogans instead of arguments?

The intellectuals seek a candid debate inside the party. This, and a party press that explains fully, clearly and promptly, could only be salutary to the CP in the long run. The truth is revolutionary—and this must be put into practice before it is too late.

AN ISOLATED PARTY: For the present —and for how long no one can tell—the CP is more isolated in France than it has been for years. But the implications of the abruptly changed political climate are serious for the French Left as a whole. After Egypt, the Socialist Party in turn finds itself isolated from practically every one but the Right, and beset with difficulties in its own ranks. The Suez attack, coming after the Algerian war, has brought home the bitter truth about their party to many Socialist militants, and even to a few of its leaders: one deputy of 20 years' standing handed in her resignation. The CP, SP and Mendes-France's Radicals together hold an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies but they are paralyzed by a three-way divorce.

The strength of the CP lies in the fact that it remains the only really left-wing party in France. Sartre indicated his appreciation of this in an interview in **Express.** He said:

"We reserve our affection for the thousands of Communist militants whom I know today to be in anguish; who do not want to leave their party at a time when it is being attacked from all sides, and because their party is the only one in France today that represents the socialist movement. . . ."

Happy birthday, young fellow

IF IT CAN BE SAID that the arts have an important relation to life, it might also be said that the confusion on the Left about ways toward socialism has been paralleled—and perhaps even anticipated—by an uproar in the arts. And through this uproar three of our contemporaries have worked without flagging. These three veterans of progressive art and progressive politics mark the following birthdays this year: W. E. B. DuBois turned 88; Pablo Picasso turned 75; and on Dec. 8, Diego Rivera will be 70. In neither the field of honest—sometimes groping or mistaken—art nor that of similarly groping democratic politics, has any of the three shown signs of wavering in his confidence that there's a new day acomin'.

You hear it said: How can anyone go ahead in such confusion? DuBois, Picasso and Rivera have long set us an example and an Olympic pace. There has been violent resistance to the way DuBois' field of the history of colored peoples is developing, but history and the Doctor go on. There have been anguished cries and even art riots in Paris and Mexico City but, as we see, Picasso and Rivera and painting go on.

A decent respect for precedent and the treasures of the past is the soul of culture. At the same time, art (like science, including political and economic science) speculates and experiments. Sometimes new truths are found and sometimes all that is found is that a thing doesn't work. Great art is not great because it follows precedents but because it creates them. Through these men, the arts have welcomed a time of uncertainty as an opportunity to explore, experiment in and create part of the new world, as people interested in real progress in any field should. —**Robert Joyce**

Hungary turmoil

(Continued from Page 1)

ances would violate "international law" and "existing good relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary." Shortly afterwards the Budapest radio announced that Nagy and his companions had gone to Rumania after requesting that they be allowed to leave Hungary and settle in "another Socialist country."

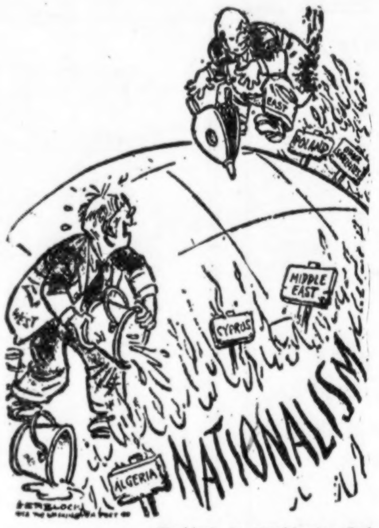
But the Yugoslav government rejected this story. The Belgrade newspapers **Borba** and **Politika** said that Nagy and his companions had been whisked away to some unknown destination by a Soviet officer who had boarded the bus the Hungarians had entered after leaving the Yugoslav embassy. Belgrade lodged strong protests with Moscow and Budapest, criticising the Soviet action and demanding the immediate return of Nagy and his colleagues to their homes or their permission to go to Yugoslavia.

PRAVDA ON NAGY: In Moscow **Pravda** on Nov. 23, explained in detail the events in Hungary that led to Soviet intervention. It agreed that "in solving problems of socialist construction" in Hungary, former state and party leaders Rakosi and Gero "committed gross mistakes in general political questions and in the field of economic policy and cultural development."

By violating socialist "legality" and making "serious miscalculations" in the economic field, Rakosi and Gero "became estranged from the party masses and the people," **Pravda** said. But it felt that Nagy was no improvement. When Nagy became Premier, **Pravda** said, his government "practically had no power in the country" and did nothing as "Fascist-Horthyist gangs . . . seized progressive leaders in the streets, hanged them or cut their heads off."

TO END BLOOD BATH: Finding that the Nagy government had become "a cover for the activities of the counter-revolutionary forces," **Pravda** declared, the best men of the Nagy government "like Janos Kadar, Ferenc Muennich and Imre Marosan . . . broke away from that government." They "decided to put an end to the blood bath, stand up to the reactionary fascist forces and to ask the Soviet Union for help." The article said that Moscow's "decision to come to the aid of Hungary's revolutionary forces was the only correct decision to take."

Agreeing with some of Marshal Tito's criticism and disagreeing with others, **Pravda** in a conciliatory mood said that Belgrade-Moscow "unity of views regarding important ideological problems would require significant time." It urged that "disputed questions" between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union "be considered and cleared up in a quiet, friendly atmosphere by means of comradely exchanges of opinion."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Small world, isn't it?"

POLAND ABSTAINS: The Nagy incident, however, further strained Belgrade-Moscow relations. In the UN last week, both Yugoslavia and Poland abstained while the Soviet and other socialist delegates voted against a resolution introduced by India, Ceylon and Indonesia, asking Hungary to admit UN observers "without prejudice to its sovereignty."

This was the first time the Polish delegation had failed to support the Soviet position in the UN. In an interview on Nov. 24, Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy, Poland's Ambassador to the UN, explained that "the best we could do" was to abstain on the Asian resolution because, while it was "moderate" and tried "to establish the truth without hurling accusations," there was "a contradiction of interests" within the resolution. Dr. Katz-Suchy said that the Polish delegation voted "independently in accordance with our best interests" and not in the interests of any other country.

POLES UNEASY: There were indications that the Polish people did not fully accept Moscow's explanation of its intervention in Hungary. On Nov. 25 Warsaw newspapers published an open letter signed by most of Poland's leading writers. Addressed to the Hungarian people, the letter conveyed "our deepest sympathy because of the bloodshed caused by a compromised government and the intervention of foreign troops." At the same time the Warsaw branch of the Journalists' Union passed a resolution expressing its disquiet over the disappearance of Imre Nagy.

Many Soviet writers, also uneasy over their country's role in Hungary, wrote an open letter in reply to French intellectuals, who, while denying the moral right of the Paris government to pillory Moscow, nevertheless had condemned Soviet action in Hungary.

In their letter to the Moscow journal **Literaturnaya Gazeta** on Nov. 22, Soviet writers, including Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantin Fedin and Fedor Gladkov, agreed that, after the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, Hungarian leaders "made no efforts to liquidate completely the intolerable violations of Socialist democracy and Socialist legality." They also said that the Soviet leaders did not take sufficient steps "in good time" to use "all the authority" at their command "to repair decisively the grave mistakes" committed by the Hungarian leaders. The Soviet writers, however, felt that, due to the "fascist terror" reigning in Hungary during Nagy's regime, "we would have seen more blood spilled if Soviet tanks had not intervened."

RADIO'S ROLE: Through the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe have denied any hand in the Hungarian affair, the W. German Social Democratic party has accused them of broadcasting inflammatory propaganda and has asked the Adenauer government to investigate the radio station located in its territory. **N.Y. Times** correspondent John MacCormac reported (11/25) that Western newsmen in Budapest were asked by astonished Hungarians why the U. S. failed "to help them repel the Soviet attackers."

During his own stay in Budapest MacCormac saw "ample evidence that the Hungarians were thoroughly convinced the U. S. would help them against the Soviet Union." He heard many criticisms of broadcasts by the two radio stations as being harmful "because they incited the Hungarians to further revolts and strikes" when Nagy as Premier was trying to restore order.

DANGEROUS SLOGANS: "Even if the two propaganda media did not themselves preach revolution," MacCormac said, "they quoted freely from U. S. newspapers and utterances of public men in the U. S. who were less careful." He pointed out that both Secy. Dulles and UN delegate Lodge had, for example, spoken of "rollbacks" and pledges of U. S. aid to Hungarians "in their struggle for freedom."

According to MacCormac and some of his colleagues, responsibility for persuading the Hungarians to expect U. S. help "rests on the government of the U. S.—of which the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe are merely mouthpieces, official and unofficial—and on its people, since people are responsible for their governments."

GOING TO SEATTLE TOO

Un-American probers time L.A. hearing for Foreign Born group's conference

WITH CAREFUL TIMING, the House Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled Dec. 5 for the start of hearings in Los Angeles against the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, just three days before the parent organization opens its national conference on Dec. 8 in that city.

Although the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is the main target of the hearings, subpenas have also been served on persons actively seeking the repeal not only of the McCarran-Walter Act but other legislation such as the Smith Act.

A subpena served on Mrs. Rose Chernin Kusnitz, executive director of the L.A. committee, orders her to produce "all letters and copies of letters and all leaflets and documents of every nature whatsoever, incoming or outgoing . . . designed to revise, repeal and influence the revision or repeal of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act, and Immigration & Nationality Act."

Said Los Angeles civil liberties attorney John Porter: "The order to Mrs. Kusnitz to bring documents relating to attempts to influence legislation raises important legal questions. The U. S. Supreme Court has already ruled, in the Rumley case, that such action by a Congressional committee is an interference with constitutional freedom."

The probers are scheduled to open hearings in Seattle on Dec. 13.

Meiklejohn will speak in Los Angeles Dec. 14

Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of American philosophers, will speak at a Los Angeles meeting commemorating the 165th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights, Friday evening, Dec. 14, at the Hollywood Athletic Club. Also appearing will be Rev. Stuart Innerst of the Friends Committee on Legislation, and Academy Award winning actress Anne Revere. Miss Revere will discuss the Hollywood blacklist suit, "Wilson vs. Loews," now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court.

The meeting has been called to support a community and national action program with the goal of abolishing the House Comittee on Un-American Activities.

Sponsor of the meeting is the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. Coffee and dessert will be served at 8 p.m., and the program will begin at 8:30. Admission is $2.

Hawaii red hunt

(Continued from Page 1)

the right to defend itself.

Sen. Eastland, informed in Washington of the possibility of an Island-wide walkout, said: "It is something I just don't want to dignify by discussion."

The timing of the announcement of the Hawaii hearings, made in mid-October, was seen by many as an attempt to interfere with the Hawaii elections. The Democrat Eastland is bitterly opposed to the Democratic Party in the Islands, which he contends is under "communist influence."

DEMOCRATIC DELEGATE: If this was a committee aim, it backfired badly. John A. Eurns became the first Democrat in 24 years to be elected the Islands' delegate to Congress, and Democrats control both houses of the Territorial Legislature. Burns was not only elected with strong support from the ILWU, but publictly welcomed that support. Frank Marshall Davis, columnist for the progressive weekly Honolulu **Record**, wrote:

"The overwhelming victory of Jack Burns in the delegate race and the retention by the Democrats of control over both houses of the Territorial Legislature gives, it seems to me, a sound rebuke to those reactionary anti-labor forces who had hoped to use the coming Senate Internal Security subcommittee hearings as a weapon for a GOP victory . . . In the light of what happened [election day], the committee should either stay home or else subpena everybody who voted the Democratic ticket. And even Eastland would hesitate to tackle that one."

FIRED AFTER DINNER: A sidelight of the approaching battle was the dismissal by Gov. King of Edward N. Sylva, Republican attorney general of the Territory, because he attended the testimonial dinner for Hall. Sylva is a staunch anti-communist and was the first chairman of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities. King observed that he "should not have attended a testimonial in honor of a convicted felon." Said Sylva: "I regarded Saturday night's dinner as a labor meeting. Some segments of our community have too long isolated themselves from the labor movement. I think this is wrong."

Later he told newsmen that he had no regrets at losing his $12,500-a-year post, declared that the ILWU is a "legitimate force" in the Territory, and said that the "communist problem" in Hawaii is "of a minor nature.."

STATEHOOD QUESTION: Another aim of the hearings is to attempt to create sentiment against statehood for Hawaii, a pet project of Sen. Eastland who fears the effect of two U. S. Senators representing an overwhelmingly dark-skinned population. The **N. Y. Times**, commenting on a report that Eastland intends to look into the Territorial Legislature's refusal to grant the full funds asked for the Island Subversive Activities Commission (which is now out of business), wrote on Nov. 16:

"If Sen. Eastland really is going to start looking into the motives of Hawaii's duly elected legislative body because it has failed to take action that he thinks desirable, he will in our opinion be exceeding his authority. It will not be the first time he has shown such tendencies, but so far as we know it will be the first time he has confused himself with a Territorial Legislature.

"It does not take much imagination to assume that the real purpose of the projected hearings is to build up sentiment in the incoming Congress against another statehood bill."

NOISY BRASS: For some preliminary fireworks, the subcommittee called a couple of retired brass to testify in Washington on the Hawaiian Red Menace. Said retired Adm. Charles M. Cooke: "It goes without saying that if communist power continued to advance in Southeast Asia and in the Pacific, if it succeeds in bringing Formosa into communist control and Japan into the communist orbit, then communist domination of the Hawaiian Islands could spell irretrievable disaster to the United States."

Earlier the committee heard retired Lt. Gen. John W. (Iron Mike) O'Daniel, who was in command in Hawaii from 1952 to 1954. He said he "visualized" the danger of a communist-led uprising in the Islands in the event of a shooting war. This was more than even Gov. King could take; he declared that ILWU members "will not engage in any uprising against the United States in the Isalnds."

Others were more vehement. Former governor Oren E. Long, who was in office when Gen. O'Daniel took command, said: "This is the most amazing statement about Hawaii that I have heard during my 40 years residence in the Territory . . . The thought of any uprising is absurd." He called the General's testimony "reprehensible." Katsuro Miho, vice-chairman of the Hawaii Statehood Commission, called it "greatly exaggerated . . . inconceivable . . . fantastic."

Sylva, the Islands' original Red-hunter, said: "Tripe."

PUBLICATIONS

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Philadelphia

"Is the Tide Turning for Freedom?" **DR. CORLISS LAMONT**, speaker, Fri., Dec. 7, 8:30 p.m., Benjamin Franklin Hotel. Adm: $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund of Dismissed Teachers.

New York

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE MEETING West Side Citizens for Democratic Socialism, Wed., Dec. 5, 8:30 p.m. sharp at The True Sisters Clubhouse, 150 W. 85 St. **AGENDA:** 1—Discussion of preliminary statement of intentions—a call to reason for independent political action. 2—Organize WEST SIDE SOCIALIST FORUM to arrange debates, round-table discussions between all Socialist tendencies in the U. S. on the issues dividing them. 3—Set up committee to organize a local public rally in last week of Dec. "A Salute to the Negro People of Montgomery, Ala.—Ring in the New Year by voting out Senate Rule 22." ALL SOCIALISTS ARE WELCOME!

SAT., DEC. 15TH, 8:30 P.M. VICTORY RECEPTION celebrating end of Coast Guard screening and to pay tribute to **CAPT. HUGH MULZAC** and our fighting attorneys. Entertainment: Calypso Group, Al Moss and others. Dancing. 405 West 41 St. (main ballroom). Cont. $1.25. Ausp: Seamen's Defense Committee. (Part of the city-wide ECLC Civil Rights Day Celebration).

8:10 p.m. Monday, December 3rd

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VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL MEETING Monday, Dec. 10th, 8 p.m., 247 E. 116 St. (nr. 2nd Av.) Chairman: John T. McManus. Speakers: **DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS**, Arthur Schutzer, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Charles Collins, Manuel Medina, Clifford T. McAvoy. THE PUBLIC IS INVITED.

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Tues., Dec. 4—Round Table: **DO U. S. MARXISTS NEED A COMMUNIST "PARTY?"** Immediate and Long Range Questions of Organizational Form. Panelists: Esther Cantor, Fred Fine, Lillian Gates. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av., 8:15 p.m. Adm: $1.

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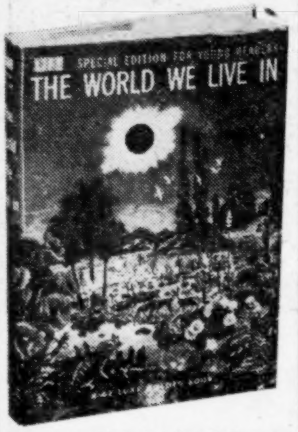

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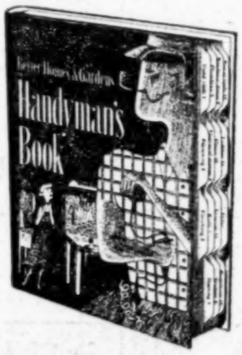

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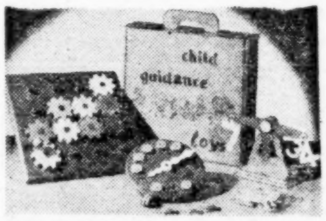

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